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Massachusetts State CIO, Industrial Union Council

by

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CIO

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to examine structure and operation of the Massachusetts State CIO Industrial Union Council (herein after referred to as the Council) and the activities in which it engages.

COMMITTEE EXAMINATION

Each of the constituent committees will be examined thoroughly in an effort to give the reader an insight into the reasons for and the practical functional operation of these various committees.

NEED FOR HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND VALUE OF SUCH COVERAGE

Because the history of the CIO plays so important a role in giving an understanding of the underlying motives for many of the decisions which have been made by the Council, and because all readers are not equally familiar with the forces which lie behind and influence the thinking in the labor field, it is felt that a detailed historical coverage of the parent organization and the events which led to its formation would be essential in the presentation of this paper.

Actions in or reactions to different situations are not made on spur-of-the-moment decisions, but are considered in the light of past experience and tempered by seasoned traditions, of which many who might be interested would have no knowledge, unless they were familiar with the history and development of the CIO.

For those who are not acquainted with the labor question except in a casual sense, such a documented review will provide a necessary working knowledge of existing conditions and enable them to understand and appreciate the decisions as made. For those who are acquainted with the background of the CIO, a historical survey may serve to refresh the memory and permit a broader comprehension of the results of the following pages of this thesis.

NECESSARY TO ADOPT THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE

Prior to the study of the period immediately preceding the break in the ranks of American labor, it is necessary for the observer to look at the overall picture in order to avoid the danger of losing the perspective of the various labor groups as a movement, instead of as another temporary pressure area in our economy.

We must be cognizant of the fact that the internal rupture in the movement itself was not something which was conceived suddenly and born immediately. It was of such a nature as to necessitate a long period of gestation, during which time several economic, political and social forces augmented its embryonic growth. At the same time, these events imparted their influences which were to have strong bearing on the later actions of the offspring.

PRESSURE OF THE CRASH OF 1929

Probably one of the most outstanding events to exert

its influence during the pre-natal period was the depression of 1929. This depression with its accompanying industrial stagnation and unemployment served as a lens through which the labor problem was more clearly focused. The economic pressures which it transmitted affected every American family; with increasing unemployment, men instinctively turned their attentions to the fundamentals of food, clothing, and shelter for their families and coincidentally built up and harboured within themselves strong feelings for collective activity which later manifested itself in the schism of 1935.

STATUTE OF THE AFL

In the early thirties, the dominant organization in the American labor movement was the American Federation of Labor. The views that it held were regarded by the public to be the views of all labor and for this reason, the great percentage of the working class which was found in the semi-skilled and unskilled labor groups, was being overlooked. There were small encounters from the Socialists and other "liberal" groups, but the people of the country still looked to the AFL for an official interpretation of those questions which affected American labor.

EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION

Due to the economic pressures of the depression period, the membership of the AFL was suffering severe blows during 1931 and 1932. Members were dropping out at a "rate of

7000 per week" (1) and with the labor market now saturated, employers were ignoring the precedents of wage scales and hours which had been established by years of effort on the part of the AFL.

PASSAGE OF THE NIRA

If the labor movement ever needed an impetus it was during this period, and it received just that, or thought it did, when in June 1933, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act.

This act established codes of fair competition for various industries and, to make the situation attractive to business enterprises, offered virtual monopolies in the hope of regaining industrial stability. To get the forces of labor to cooperate in this all out effort, the act included the famous Section 7 (a) which stated:

"(1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor or their agents, and in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection;

(2) That no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of this own choosing." (2)

(1) The American Federationist 1934.

(2) Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, 48 Stat. L 195.

FAILURE OF THE NIRA AND THE ENACTMENT OF THE NLRA

Organized Labor hailed this act as its "Magna Charta", as it had previously hailed the Clayton Act of 1914, but subsequent events proved that, again, labor's expectations were not to be fulfilled.

Employers continuously disregarded the new law and completely ignored the National Labor Board (set up under the act) decisions which they felt were unfavorable to their own particular case. Labor's answer to these flagrant violations was a mass protest of such intensity, that in 1934 Congress passed a Joint Resolution, Public Resolution #44, which authorized the President to establish one or more boards to investigate the facts in labor controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the NIRA. However, these boards lacked the positive power to successfully contend with the problems which faced them and on May 27, 1935, with the Supreme Court decision on the famous Schechter case (295 US 495) which held the codes of the NIRA to be unconstitutional, the entire structure collapsed.

The cause of labor had not been forgotten and on July 5, 1935 after being battled through the Senate by Senator Wagner, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act which re-established and strengthened Section 7 (a) and upon the signing of this bill by President Roosevelt, it became the law of the land.

WHAT WAS THE AFL DOING DURING THIS PERIOD?

The question often arises at this point as to what the AFL was doing to stem the tide of these seemingly adverse conditions. What steps were they taking to acclimatize themselves to the new and entirely different situations on the labor front? One interpretation of these questions is found in Herbert Harris' "Labor's Civil War" when he said "The passage of 7 (a) and its aftermath, of course, evoked widespread and spontaneous uprising of workers whose desire for unionism had long been repressed. But the Federation, with its ruling body, the Executive Council, dominated by the leaders of the Craft type unions, who clung fiercely to their narrow jurisdictional rights, failed to handle this vast new influx of semi-skilled and unskilled labor with either vigor or vision. By the tens of thousands it placed new, eager converts in federal labor unions, which are simply recruiting stations, from which the various craft chieftains, at their leisure siphon off anyone they can claim." (1) This view of the situation, while seemingly acrimonious in its condemnation of the AFL is only one of many, -- displaying aptly how the laxity of that organization was interpreted by many students in the labor field. The subsequent partition of the CIO into a separate organization is an obvious manifestation that Harris was not alone in his contentions.

(1) Labor's Civil War, Herbert Harris.

This statement implies that the AFL was not sincerely interested in all the workers, but confined its interests to those who were to be found in the skilled trades. It clung to outmoded methods of organizing and displayed a limited perspective of the era in which unions must now survive. The Twentieth Century was one of mass industries producing vast quantities of goods by incorporating the use of more and more machinery; the skilled artisan, per se, was becoming obsolete, but the AFL refused to give ground on its traditional concept of "the skilled worker only".

DIVERGENT OPINION ON THE PLANNING LEVEL

From a reading of the foregoing, it would appear that the entire upper echelons of the AFL were unified in opinion on this question of Craft vs. Industrial unionism. Such an interpretation could not be more misleading, for there were within the organization itself several men who firmly believed that, unless the AFL changed its attitude, the entire structure of its organization was being imperiled. In fact, so intent were these men in their pleas for recognition, that in a January conference of 1934, the AFL passed stop-gap measures which called for "increased latitude" in the granting of Federal charters. It was recognized that the important aspect in the overall picture was the need for organizing, not the form which it might assume. "The paramount issue is not the particular form of organization that shall be followed in this emergency and

this unusual situation. The demand of the moment is to promote organization in whatever form or method is best designed to rally the wage earner to the cause of Organized Labor, bearing in mind that in pursuit of organizing, the present structure, rights and interests of affiliated National and International must be followed and safeguarded." (1)

In itself this measure did not fulfill all the requirements demanded by the situation, especially the question as to whether or not the Craft unions were to surrender their jurisdiction, but it was recognition by the executive body that the unskilled worker was of some concern and that something must be forthcoming to expedite his being made a formal member of organized labor.

RAIDING THE FEDERAL UNIONS

In one year's time the number of Federal unions affiliated with the AFL increased from 673 in 1933 to 1788 in 1934. (2) The situation would probably have continued in its relatively smooth course had not some of the Craft unions begun to raid these Federal unions for members who fell under their jurisdiction. This assertion of jurisdictional rights over newly organized workers caused considerable damage to the organizing campaign as a whole and infuriated that group which believed that the workers should be left alone on their plant and industry

(1) American Federationist, February 1934.

(2) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1934.

basis. This feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested in 1934 when, at the San Francisco convention, the proponents of Industrial organization introduced fourteen resolutions on the subject of Industrial Unionism. (1)

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS FORCED TO ACCEPT COMPROMISE

The convention was marked by bitter debates and accusations. In spite of these, the best that the Industrial unionists could do was accept a compromise resolution which "(a) reiterated the doctrine of Craft interests (b) conceded however, the need for a new basis of organization in some segments of industry (c) directed the Executive Council to issue charters for National unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum, and such other mass-production and miscellaneous industries, as in the judgment of the Council, may be necessary to meet the situation and to inaugurate a campaign to organize the iron and steel industry at the earliest possible date and (d) declared that in order to protect and safeguard the interests of members of the newly chartered National and International unions, the AFL should provisionally direct the policies, administer the business, and designate the administrative and financial officers of such organizations." (2) The vast margins allowed in these resolutions for interpretation gave both

(1) Text of resolutions in the American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1934.

(2) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1934.

factions, Craft and Industrial, ammunition with which each continued to harass the other.

INDIVIDUAL INTERPRETATION WIDENS THE BREACH

Despite the fact that both sides realized that these resolutions were, at best, compromise measures to give the Executive Council a favorable time element, each regarded them as personal victories and by so doing, only added to the confusion and dissension. Ironically, the convention elected two members of the Industrial unionists to positions on the Executive Council; these men were John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers.

The ensuing months were marked by a continuation of the bickering and arguing which had preceded the convention and made it only too obvious that the different interpretation of the proposed resolution by the factions was causing it to fail in its purpose. Both parties to the dispute, by their actions, so emasculated the power of the resolutions as to render them ineffective in their effort to relieve the pressure of the situation. While the blame may be somewhat equally divided, each group pointed the finger of accusation at the other and the period was marked by a lack of affirmative action.

PRECURSOR OF POSITIVE ACTION

At the Atlantic City convention of 1935, this boil of dissension was finally brought to a head. Phillip Murray, then

Vice-president of the United Mine Workers, delivered an extended speech in which he excoriated the action of the craft faction. He presented concrete examples of how the craft technique of raiding the newly organized Federal unions had killed organization in the steel industry. Following Murray, Delegate Addes presented examples of how parallel situations existed in the automotive industries; this argument was augmented by Delegate Lilly of the Gas Distribution Workers Union, who explained how the craft raids had emasculated the organization which they had established. In summation for the opposition, John L. Lewis delivered a fiery exhortation in which he severely critized the craft interests for "a breach of faith and a travesty of good conscience" in regard to their continual raids on the mass industry organizations.

COUNTER PROPOSAL BY MINORITY

Following these protestations, the minority Committee on Resolutions, Lewis, Myrup, Powers, Howard, Dubinsky, and J. L. Lewis, introduced a report which declared, "In the great mass-producing industries and in those in which the workers are composite mechanics, specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not qualify them for craft-union membership, industrial organization is the only solution. It is not the intention of this declaration of policy to permit the taking away from the National or International craft-unions of any part of their present membership or potential membership in

establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen coming under a proper definition of the jurisdiction of such National or International unions. However, it is the declared purpose to provide for the organization of workers in mass production and other industries along the industrial and plant lines, regardless of claims based on the question of jurisdiction." (1) This report was defeated by a vote of 18,024 to 10,933 and the majority report, upholding the Executive Council plan of the previous year, became the official "plan of attack" for the Federation.

CONCEPTION OF CIO AS WE KNOW IT TODAY

Immediately following adjournment of the Convention, John L. Lewis called an informal conference of the minority leaders "for the purpose of discussing the advisability of keeping unions favoring the industrial form of organization for the mass production industries in contact with each other and cementing their forces for future AFL conventions." (2)

Shortly thereafter on November 10, 1935, the Committee for Industrial Organization was established and included John L. Lewis, Phillip Murray, John Brophy and Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers; Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Thomas McMahon of the United Textile Workers;

(1) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1935.

(2) Position of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Relation to CIO and AFL.

Max Zaritsky of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers; Charles P. Howard of the Typographical Union and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers. This committee was never intended to be a "dual movement" but was sincerely established to operate within the structure of the AFL. Its main functions were to be largely "advisory and propagandistic". At the meeting of the above-named men, the purpose of the committee was expressed as "encouragement and promotion of organization of the unorganized workers in the mass production and other industries upon an industrial basis ... to foster acceptance and recognition of collective bargaining in such industries; to counsel and advise unorganized and newly organized groups of workers; to bring them under the banner of and in affiliation with the AFL." (1) This report as to the intent and purpose of the newly formed committee was met with an attitude of skepticism on the part of the craft interests and William Green, President of the AFL, dispatched correspondence to the leaders of this industrial movement, in which he expressed his grave concern and asked for dissolution of the committee. Later, after a committee refusal to Green's request, the Executive Council sent a note ordering immediate dissolution of the committee but this request was also rejected. By this time, the Committee for Industrial Organization was charged as a dual organization and guilty of "fomenting insurrection" and acts "constituting rebellion". The committee's repeated refusal to

(1) International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

cease and desist and their failure to appear before the Executive Council resulted in their suspension on September 5, 1936.

This overt act of offense on the part of the AFL, instead of resulting in forcing the committee back into the fold, only served as an impetus to the already snow-balling campaign of the CIO. They were eagerly pursuing organizing activities in the steel industry under the able direction of Phillip Murray and the results of their industrial approach to this problem of unionizing the semi-skilled and unskilled labor were readily apparent by the ensuing growth in CIO membership.

Notes of reprimand and request beat a constant path between the Executive Council and the Committee but all efforts and hopes of a peaceful settlement proved to be futile.

OFFICIAL SUSPENSION

In Tampa, Florida, November 1936 the AFL convention voted 21,679 to 2,043 to ratify the Executive Council action of the suspension of the unions in question. (1) Although the Committee was now officially anathema, it did not elect to become a permanent organization until two years later.

ENTRENCHMENT OF IDEAS PREVENTS UNIFICATION

Strangely enough, the rank-and-file membership was continually pressuring for some formula which would re-unite

(1) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1936.

their forces; and they were not alone in this desire. In February 1938, President Roosevelt sent identical letters to Presidents Green and Lewis in which he asked for a reconciliation and a reuniting of the labor movement. However the lines had been drawn and regardless of the speculation, either pro or con, all peace feelers were rejected.

Today ten years after the official partition and after ten years of peace offerings and rejections, our labor front is still divided into two distinct groups. Each faction has adopted the attitude that any concession or retreat from previous positions is tantamount to losing face and their respective prides; this prevents any mutually constructive moves.

POWER OF FIGURES

Strongly favoring the CIO in its contention that, given the opportunity, the industries which were starving for union recognition and representation, would flock to the cause of organized labor, was the tremendous growth in membership it experienced (see chart on following pages) immediately following the schism.

FUNDAMENTAL OPPOSITION OF THE TWO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

One of the outstanding differences, organic in its nature, which exists between these two groups is to be found in the concept of Vertical Organization as opposed to the concept of Horizontal Organization.

TABLE 1.

Membership Chart of the CIO (1)

Original Eight (established under AFL)	Date of Affilia- tion	Approximate Membership Prior to #1 and estab- lished under the AFL (2)	Approximate Membership Sept. 1937 ⁽³⁾	Maximum Potential Membership ⁽⁴⁾
1. United Mine Workers	Nov 1935	400,000	600,000	620,000
2. Int'l Typo- graphical Union	"	73,000	80,000	82,000
3. Amal. Clothing Workers	"	100,000	200,000	200,000
4. Int'l Ladies Garment Worker	"	160,000	250,000	300,000
5. United Textile Workers (Twoc)	"	100,000	400,000	1,250,000
6. Oil field, Gas well and re- finery Workers	"	42,000	100,000	1,000,000
7. Cap and Milli- nery Workers	"	21,000	35,000	60,000
8. Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers	"	14,600	50,000	150,000

National and International Unions Added
Since Formation of the CIO

9. Federation of Flat Glass Workers	Apr 1936	14,000	18,000	18,000
10. United Auto- mobile Work- ers	Jul 1936	19,000	375,000	500,000

11.	United Rubber Workers	Jul 1936	3,500	75,000	120,000
12.	Amal. Assoc. Iron, Steel & Tin Workers (SWOC)	Jun 1936	9,200	500,000	800,000
13.	United Elec. & Radio Workers	Nov 1936	30,000	130,000	347,000
14.	Marine and Ship Building Workers	Nov 1936	10,000	25,000	75,000
15.	United Shoe Workers	Apr 1937	20,000	51,000	300,000
16.	American Communications Ass.	Apr 1937		10,000	350,000
17.	Aluminum Workers of America	Apr 1937	12,000	15,000	40,000
18.	Transport Workers	May 1937	16,000	90,000	1,500,000
19.	Architects Engineers Chemists & Technicians	May 1937	6,000	7,000	250,000
20.	National Leather Workers	May 1937	15,000	15,000	80,000
21.	United Retail Employees	May 1937	15,000	40,000	3,000,000
22.	Int'l Fur Workers	May 1937	30,000	35,000	
23.	Office and Professional Workers	May 1937	10,000	25,000	3,800,000
24.	American Newspaper Guild	May 1937	5,000	14,000	200,000

25. United Federal Workers	Jun 1937	25,000	50,000	485,000
26. Nat'l Die & Casting League	Jun 1937		5,000	
27. State, County and Municipal Workers	Jul 1937		40,000	2,000,000
28. Agricultural Canning and Packing Workers	Jul 1937		100,000	4,400,000
29. Nat'l Maritime Union	Jul 1937	38,000	38,000	300,000
30. Woodworkers Federation	Jul 1937	100,000	100,000	1,000,000
31. Marine Engineers Beneficial Ass.	Aug 1937		7,000	
32. Int'l Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union	Aug 1937		25,000	75,000

525 Industrial local unions in the Bakery, Food, Meat Packing, Tobacco, Lumber, Furniture etc., with about 200,000 members. Total CIO membership, 1937 was 3,718,000. There are over 50 Industrial Union Councils and several State Councils awaiting charters.

- (1) CIO Industrial Unionism in Action 1937-Walsh, page 157.
- (2) Report on the Membership of the AFL, Convention 1936.
- (3) Membership Records of the CIO, 1937.
- (4) Statistical Abstract of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

When the term "vertical" is used, it is understood to mean that, when a CIO organizer endeavors to unionize a plant, he organizes it in its entirety under the jurisdiction of only one union; on the other hand, if the same plant were being organized by an AFL man, each particular craft would be represented and the employees would owe allegiance, not to one union that had plant-wide jurisdiction, but to the local of the National or International union to which their craft was affiliated. This latter case is known as "horizontal" jurisdiction. The conflict which is apparent from these two cases is probably the fundamental differentiating characteristic of these groups, for, many though their differences may be, a great number are of a superficial nature and should not be confused with those that are more basic.

PARALLEL BETWEEN INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THAT OF THE CIO

In the CIO, as in any organization which possesses basic tenets of authority, obedience, and discipline, the need for clearly defined lines of jurisdiction is mandatory. This flow of authority within the structure of the CIO from the national ruling body to the state, city and district organs, draws a close parallel to the authority flow found within our federal government. As in the civil law making procedure, wherein each state and city may pass, promulgate and enforce their own laws, so it is within the structure of the CIO.

Each member unit of the National CIO is an autonomous entity and as such must rule themselves.

However, in both instances the delegation of this right to self-rule is conditional and the sole condition demanded by both agencies of its member units, is the strict adherence to and respect for its national Constitution. As long as this condition is fulfilled, the autonomy of the individual unit cannot be challenged. Legislation, rules and regulations may be passed, established and enforced by the integral parts of these national organizations as long as no conflict or question of Constitutionality arises.

A more detailed coverage of the powers and limitations of the Council units will follow in Chapter 2 where we investigate the rules and regulations which guide and govern Council activity.

So that the reader can follow this flow of authority, the CIO Organizational Chart is presented at this time. (See following page)

TABLE 2.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL
ORGANIZATIONS

STATE INDUSTRIAL
UNION COUNCILS

INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL
UNIONS AND ORGANIZING
COMMITTEES

CITY INDUSTRIAL
UNION COUNCILS

LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION

LOCAL UNIONS

MEMBERSHIP

CHAPTER II

RULES AND REGULATIONS WHICH GOVERN ALL COUNCIL ACTIVITY

WHY WE MUST KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THE RULES AND REGULATIONS
WHICH GOVERN THE COUNCILS

Descending to the echelons of state councils in the organizational structure of the CIO, we approach the main object of this paper, namely, the Massachusetts State CIO Industrial Union Council.

Prior to discussing the historical background of the Massachusetts State CIO, it is necessary that a section be devoted to cover the rules and regulations by which the council must abide and under which it must operate.

As it is difficult to witness and understand what is taking place in a sporting event if we do not know the rules which govern the game, so is it difficult for us to attest the true worth and stature of the State Council if we do not know the rules and regulations which guide it in its actions.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO NEW COUNCILS

Although each Industrial Council of the CIO maintains an autonomous nature in its every-day business, there are certain rules and regulations established and promulgated by the National CIO by which they must abide.

In a letter to newly formed or forming Industrial Councils, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO made this unequivocal statement, "The constitution of the CIO is the supreme law governing all affiliates of the CIO. The CIO

rules Industrial Councils are issued by the Executive Board of the CIO pursuant to the Constitution of the CIO. These CIO rules are compulsory and may not be changed in any way by any Industrial council." Note should be made that the Constitution of the National CIO is the criterion by which all council constitutions are measured. Because each council is an autonomous unit, the National CIO must be positive that no council violates national policy and therefore it issues the rules which keep council activity within the bounds demanded by this policy. A certain degree of authority must be exercised in an organization of this type and to prevent misinterpretations and misunderstandings from arising the National CIO issue model constitutions which govern the actions of the Councils and a set of rules which facilitate the carrying out of that constitution.

AIDS TO NEW COUNCILS

Model constitutions and by-laws are sent to all councils, but these are not intended to be compulsory edicts as are the rules which they receive. They are only aids to assist these new, spawning councils in setting up their organization and carrying on the necessary activities. In addition to these, the council also receives selected points of parliamentary procedures which it may use as a guide for the conduct of its meetings.

CHANGES IN THE MODEL CONSTITUTION

Each council may make any changes it wishes in the model constitution and by-laws and in the selected points of parliamentary procedure, provided such changes do not conflict with the CIO constitution and rules. New councils should, however make as few changes as possible until their experience dictates the necessity and advisability of such change.

PROCEDURE OF CHANGE IN COUNCIL CONSTITUTION

If the officers of a particular council feel that the local conditions necessitate and warrant a change in the constitution the following procedure has been established by the CIO: A committee of the temporary officers of council should carefully go over the model constitution and by-laws and the points on parliamentary procedure, fill in the blanks, and make any other essential changes and then present it to the membership as a whole for their opinion and adoption by a MAJORITY vote.

If the council should at any time encounter difficulty or should a misunderstanding arise in connection with the model constitution and by-laws, advice and assistance can be obtained from the CIO Regional Director or the National office of the CIO.

CIO RULES FOR INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

As was previously stated, each council receives from the National CIO a set of rules, by which they must abide. The

following pages shall cover these tenets in detail.

CERTIFICATES OF AFFILIATION

The first section of these rules deals with the Councils of the CIO, how they obtained this status, and the precepts which they must satisfy to remain in good standing.

The actual certificate of affiliation is issued by the Executive Officers of the CIO, after they have ascertained that the council in question has fulfilled the constitutional requirements and the rules governing industrial union councils.

As soon as a council receives its certificate of affiliation it must send two copies of its constitution and by-laws (and all subsequent changes therein) to the National office of the CIO. Accompanying these papers, a list of the local union affiliates and the names of all the council officers must also be sent. Records and reports which each council must forward to the National CIO are dispatched on prescribed forms which then permits the more expeditious digestion of this material at headquarters.

Upon the officers of these councils falls the responsibility to produce the books and records of the council when they are demanded by a duly authorized representative of the CIO. Failure to do so within 24 hours after the request will liable the council officer responsible to suspension from office.

COUNCIL AFFILIATES

The question is often raised as to which unions are eligible for council membership. According to the rules of the CIO, any local, in good standing with its respective parent organization of national or international unions can be admitted into affiliation with the council having proper jurisdiction (territorial) over them, and upon the payment of the required fees. These fees are composed of a per capita tax which the unions pay to the council; an exoneration is given to the locals for the same number of members that they pay a per capita tax to or receive exoneration for from their respective national or international union.

REPRESENTATION AND VOTES OF LOCALS WITHIN THE COUNCIL

One of the most important rules to be promulgated is the rule covering the authorized representation and voting privileges of the affiliates.

Each delegate shall have one vote. A council affiliated to another council shall have one delegate. The number of delegates from local unions may be based upon any one of the following plans:

(a) 150 members or less.	2 delegates
151-300 members.	3 delegates
301-500 members.	4 delegates
501-750 members.	5 delegates
751-1000 members	6 delegates

One additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof; or

- (b) The same plan as (a), with a maximum limit of ten (10) delegates for any local union regardless of its size; or
- (c) Two delegates for 7 to 500 members, and one for additional 500, with a maximum of 10 delegates per union; or
- (d) The council may, after its initial meeting, select some other plan, but any such other plan must be submitted to the National Office of the CIO for approval.

ROLL CALL VOTES

In spite of detailed rules governing this phase of voting procedure, it still presents difficulty to the new affiliates, so much so that John Brophy, Director of the Industrial Union Councils for the National CIO wrote a long and detailed letter to all councils on this question. The purpose of the letter was two-fold in a sense; one, to inform the councils of the official position of the CIO and secondly to prevent any further misinterpretation of this very important rule. (1)

Questions coming before any meeting or convention of a council may be decided by a division or show of hands. In the case of a state industrial union council, roll call votes may be demanded by the delegates representing 20 percent or more of the total number of votes at the meeting. In the case of the local industrial union council, a roll call vote may be demanded by 20 percent of the delegates present.

(1) See Letter To All Industrial Union Councils Re: Application of Rule 6 of the CIO Rules for Councils, Governing Roll Calls, (page Appendix).

In the event of a vote of this kind, the delegates of each affiliate are entitled to cast as many votes as there are members of such affiliate, but these votes are equally divided among the delegates of that particular union.

BASIS FOR MEMBERSHIP AND AUTHORIZED VOTES

In the case of local and state industrial union councils, the membership of each affiliated local union is based on the average per capita tax payments to the council and the exoneration for three months prior to the month in which the roll call vote is taken; provided that where a national, international union or organizing committee has affiliated with the CIO during such 3 months, its local unions, when affiliating with the councils had its per capita tax payments computed for the months that such local unions were affiliated.

CONVENTION REQUISITES

At each convention of a state industrial union council, the officers must submit to the convention a written list indicating the number of votes and delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

In order to qualify for the office of delegate, one must be a member of an affiliated local union or an accredited representative of its parent organization. Duly authorized representatives of the CIO are entitled to the privileges of a regular delegate except that they can not vote unless they

are also duly selected delegates of an affiliate of the Council.

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND REJECTION THEREOF

The Council cannot reject the credentials presented by a duly selected delegate. However, if three other delegates file written charges against any delegate, he is given due notice and a fair trial, and upon conviction he may be suspended or expelled. The delegate so affected may appeal this decision to the Executive Board of the CIO or to the committee which they have established to handle these cases. During the intervening period, the decision of the Council will be obeyed unless stayed by the Board or the Appeals Committee of the CIO.

POWER OF THE COUNCILS

The lines of jurisdiction and authority are clearly laid, as they must be, to prevent the Council and its affiliated members from becoming embroiled in jurisdictional disputes because one faction made the mistake of transgressing the rights of the other. The autonomous character of the member groups within the CIO structure is of fundamental nature and is protected at all costs by strict adherence to definite rules covering this area.

In the case of the Council, its power and duty lies in the field of assisting in the organization of the unorganized workers within its jurisdiction and referring applications for membership that fall within the jurisdiction of affiliated CIO national or International unions and organizing committees to

such affiliates. The council must refer other applications which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the affiliates to the National CIO for local industrial union certificates of affiliation. Under no circumstances can the council itself issue these certificates of affiliation.

Local and state industrial councils must confine their activities and statements to issues of local or state concern and to matters of general policy that have been passed upon by the National CIO. All councils are of course forbidden to take action or make statements in conflict with the established policy of the CIO, nor are they permitted to send delegates or make any contribution to national organization not recognized by the CIO. If any doubt should ever arise as to the policy or recognition of the CIO the council should immediately consult with and be guided by the advice of the national office of the CIO.

In summation then, we find that the powers of the council are restricted within territorial limits and that it can, under no circumstances assume to itself powers which properly belong to the other affiliates of the CIO or to the CIO itself. Its activities are found in the work of organization, negotiation and general assistance to the locals, local industrial unions, and other councils which come under its geographical jurisdiction.

CHARGES AND TRIALS OF OFFICERS AND DELEGATES

Charges may be preferred against any officer or delegate of a council for conduct unbecoming a council member, failure to comply with the laws of the council or the CIO, neglect of duty, misappropriation of funds, or malfeasance in office. These charges must be made in writing and action taken only after due notice and hearing have been delivered. The parties affected by such proceedings may appeal the decision of the council to the committee established for the handling of these appeals but, pending the decision of this committee, the order of the council is in effect.

COMPLIANCE WITH CIO CONSTITUTION AND RULES

All councils must comply with the constitution of the CIO and the rules governing industrial union councils. In the event that the President of the CIO has reason to believe that any council or officer is failing to comply with the provisions of the constitution or of the rules, he may institute proceedings upon the alleged violations, upon due notice and hearing before a designated member or members of the Executive Board. In such cases, the President has the authority to notify the council that he has taken custody of all property and funds of the council, and upon this notification all funds and property revert to the CIO in trust for the council pending the outcome of the proceedings.

Upon the basis of the hearing, the Executive Board is authorized to render a decision dismissing the charges,

suspending the officer or suspending or expelling the council, or directing any action that it feels is necessary to secure compliance with the constitution and rules of the CIO. The decision of the Executive may be appealed at the next convention, provided, however, that the decision of the Board remains in full effect until that time.

DISBANDING OF A COUNCIL

A council cannot disband as long as there are three organizations in good standing affiliated to it. It can, however, by an utter disregard of its duties and a failure to hold meetings for a period of one year, be disbanded by an executive order. If this state of affairs should be reached, the council disbanded, its funds and property would be held in trust by the CIO while the Executive Board made provisions to reorganize, readmit or resume activities in the defunct council. In the case where the Board decides that, in the best interests of the CIO, the council shall remain inactive, its funds and property will be applied and used in a manner consistent with the objects and purposes of the CIO and its affiliates.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE

CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL

A cursory glance at the more recent reports and books written on the labor field, will show that a great number of them deal with the national organizations and the problems which affect them as such. Only a few have taken the time to go down the chain of command and administration to witness the reactions of the rank-and-file members to those decisions made on the top levels. By the time these top-level decisions reach the local and the individual strata, it is sometimes difficult for the man who pays his weekly dues to his local union, to see in his own mind just where he fits into this gigantic scheme of national labor problems. He is not attuned to solving matters of national importance, but has all his life been bound and influenced by his immediate surroundings and to this man and thousands like him, the important decisions, the decisions which mean either he feeds, clothes and shelters his family or does not, are made close to him. To the individual unionist, as a resident of a given geographical area, those decisions which exert the most influence on him are made proximate to his own level of operation i.e., made in his own local or state council. It is with this in mind, that instead of adding to the volumes of material already written on the operation of higher echelons, this paper shall endeavor to present the more localized picture; that is, how decisions made on the levels nearer to the men affect the everyday worker not only as a union member, but equally as important, as a member of the community.

REASONS FOR DECENTRALIZATION

As in any large organization, the National CIO was cognizant of the fact that the longer the lines of authority and administration are forced to stretch, the more they become subject to distortion and violation. To prevent these forces from materializing, the CIO established organizations on the regional, state and city levels; these agencies would insure that all dicta regarding the questions which the CIO felt were of importance to their membership would reach these unions with a minimum of distortion or influence of individual opinion and judgment.

Another influencing reason as to why the regional, state and city agencies were established was the realization that each geographical area is distinct in its needs and problems. These new agencies would provide a clearing house for ideas and policies, and would also provide the physical machinery necessary for the formulation and promulgation of decisions. The idea of locally assigned problems is more easily comprehended if we realize the fact that as each industry has its own particular problems, so will each geographical area have problems which are peculiar to it alone. If not approached on this "local" basis, these problems could do severe damage to those organizations which failed to realize it.

DUTIES OF STATE COUNCILS

All State Industrial Councils would guide the or-

ganizing campaigns of its members and offer advice at any time it was needed; they would also watch all state legislation and weigh its effect on labor, not only in industry but as members of the citizenry. Examples of this are evident from Council opposition to or backing of State laws covering Factory Inspection, Unemployment Compensation, Hospitalization; Minimum Wages, Hours of Work, Child Labor, Industrial Relations, Housing and Rent Control.

It would be of little or no value for the reader, at this time, to force his way through pages of all the bills which were introduced to the State legislature, and the stand which Labor took on these proposals. What is important to know is that the Councils are taking a definite stand on these questions and have labor's interests in mind. (1)

The greater majority of the labor group feel that this aspect of the Council's work is of primary importance and while it is, of course, most interested in those laws which are aimed directly at labor, the Councils have not lost sight of the fact that they must act in that field; they are dedicated to the advancement of all good social and humane legislation; it is a further duty of State Councils to have ready the viewpoint of labor on the elected state representatives who introduce, pass and administer the laws and

(1) Complete reference to the aforementioned bills can be found in the Digest of State and Federal Labor Legislation, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Laboratory Standards.

to inform its membership of this viewpoint. There are other activities in which the State Councils take part, but these few were mentioned so as to emphasize the local character of its operation.

CIO COUNCIL IN MASSACHUSETTS

To become more specific in our study let us turn to the State CIO Industrial Council of Massachusetts where we shall find that the activities of this Council, while closely paralleling the general activities of other State Councils in the carrying out of its assigned duties from the National Executive Board, are many times, due to the specific geographical area over which it has jurisdiction, somewhat different in method and emphasis.

We know that Massachusetts has within its borders several industrial concentrations. We also know that other states do not have these same industries, and it follows that the Massachusetts State Council probably has problems which are peculiar to it alone, and conversely that other State Councils have problems with which the Massachusetts State Council does not have to contend.

WHY COUNCILS WERE ESTABLISHED

As one would deduce, the questions facing Councils are various in their natures and numerous in number. It was for these reasons, that within each Council, a series of committees were established to handle such problems in the most expeditious manner. Since the greater part of the Council's

work is carried on by specific committees, the most logical way to attain an insight into the nature and operation of the Council would be through the study of these committees and the methods which they use to combat the problems with which they are faced.

From the preceding chapter we may recall that each Council has within its own organization a list of committees which closely resembles the following: Credentials Committee, Organization Committee, Legislative Committee, Education Committee, Political Action Committee, Consumers Committee, and the Entertainment Committee. All the committees perform definite service functions to the Council itself, but some are of more importance than others in their effect on the union member and layman alike, and therefore, greater emphasis will be placed on the functions of the committees for Organization, Political Action and Legislation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF COUNCIL IN MASSACHUSETTS

Before going directly into the duties and accomplishments of these committees in the Massachusetts State CIO Industrial Union Council, we shall present something of the background and history of the organization.

In November 1937, the Massachusetts State CIO, Industrial Union Council received its certificate of affiliation from the Executive Board of the National CIO. However, acti-

vity on the state level was not concurrent with the receipt of this certificate. It was not until February, 1938, that the Council opened its doors for business and at that time the following locals of National and International unions were in membership:

Branches 12 and 105 of the American Federation of
Hosiery Workers

Local 55 of the American Newspaper Guild

Local 588 of the United Paper, Novelty and Toy
Workers

Local 381 of the Oil Workers International Union

Locals 24 and 131 of the Textile Workers of America

Local 239 of the United Electrical, Radio and
Machine Workers

Locals 12001, 12003, 12007, 12008, 12017, 12026,
and 12029 of the United Mine Workers of America

Sugar Refinery Workers

Local 1809 of the Amalgamated Association of Iron,
Steel and Tin Workers of North America

The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists
and Technicians

In the following December at the first convention of the Massachusetts State CIO, the delegates from its membership elected Michael Widman to the office of President and he served in this capacity until 1939, at which time Joseph A. Salerno was elected to the office.

Michael Widman was no stranger to the Massachusetts labor picture, having been the Director of the New England

Regional Council of the CIO and also an officer in the United Mine Workers; he worked arduously during these formative years to give his organization that close-knit and well-coordinated characteristic which is mandatory if such an organization is to survive.

PERIOD OF COUNCIL GROWTH AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

In those early years the problems and obstacles which faced this new agency seemed insurmountable. Recently chartered to membership by a national organization which was regarded by the anti-laborites and a great number within the labor field itself as a revolutionary group endeavoring to force industrial organization on our economic front, the Massachusetts State CIO Council had to fight. It had to fight not only those forces outside the ranks of labor, but also those forces which existed within labor itself, Criticism was cast by these in the American Federation of Labor, who still persisted in their attitude of strict Craft unionism. Overt acts of opposition were perpetrated against the CIO by the interests which owned or operated the units within industries being organized or which were to be organized.

EARLY OBJECTIVES

During these embryonic stages of organization, the Council's objectives were confined to the expansion of the CIO membership by organizing the unorganized and by acquainting those outside the labor field of the aims, purposes and

intent of the CIO. In retrospect it seems that the progress of the Council was relatively slow and tedious which it was, but we must bear in mind that the Council was working under most unfavorable conditions and that because of internal strife in the administrative labor field capacities were severely limited by the age of the organization.

COUNCIL ACTIVITY IN ORGANIZING CAMPAIGNS

Because some of the preceding statements seem to imply that the State Council itself is the agency which performs the actual organizing it will be said here, to clarify any misinterpretation that might have arisen, that the function of organizing belongs to each National or International union which has jurisdiction in that particular case. The function of the State Council is that of coordinating the efforts of these different unions and to keep the lines of jurisdiction free from entanglements. Their duty is restricted to an advisory capacity and is strictly passive in nature.

The committee on Organization, under whose jurisdiction these activities fall, circumvent this official restriction, by offering their personal services to those unions which are engaged in an organizing campaign. These Committee men often go out and make speeches to a group which is being organized and do their best to help the National or International unions' organizing committee.

APPEAL TO UNSKILLED WORKER

In a recent interview, Mr. Albert G. Clifton, Legis-

lative Agent of the Massachusetts State CIO, Industrial Union Council, emphasized one point as having had tremendous influence on the CIO organizing efforts of this time; this was the particular group within the labor field in which the CIO was intent upon organizing, viz., the unskilled laborer and the non-craftsmen.

If we remember that prior to this time unskilled labor had not only been ignored by the Craft unions of the AFL but had actually been looked down upon and regarded as having no standing whatsoever, we can easily see that the situation was conducive to several difficulties which arose shortly thereafter.

The new unions of the mass industries had little tradition to which they could refer when a question arose; any background they did possess was found in leaders of the movement, who had had previous experience while affiliated with the AFL. These new organizations lacked experience at the bargaining tables and therefore ran into several situations which certainly did not facilitate the negotiation of a contract. It was because of reasons such as these that the neophyte members had to be watched very closely during their period of learning, and the task of overseeing fell upon the shoulders of the State Council and upon the National or International union of which the local was a member. It was and is still on several occasions the case that during contract negotiations, the Council extends an offer to assist the union

in the negotiating period, either in the person of its Organizing Committee or the personal interest of one of its members.

The best examples of this type of aid probably lie in the actions of Michael Widman and Joseph Salerno, both of whom have exerted tremendous personal interest and effort in extending help to newly formed locals.

On one occasion in 1937, when Local 41, now of the Packing House Workers, was not even an affiliate of any National or International union but was existing under the jurisdiction of the Packing House Workers Organizing Committee, Michael Widman answered a plea for assistance and negotiated a favorable contract with the employers.

In another instance, Widman negotiated contracts for several of the small-part plants of the automobile industry, which were located in Boston and Worcester. These plants were under the jurisdiction of the United Automobile and Aircraft Workers of America at that time and had asked the Council for aid.

In the case of Mr. Joseph Salerno, erstwhile leader of the CIO in Massachusetts, the emphasis was placed on aid to the smaller unions. Although plagued by a paucity of staff assistants, Salerno was always willing to help a young or small union through its organizing and negotiating troubles.

WORLD WAR II

With the advent of the second World War, and its sub-

sequent drain on the nation's manpower and resources, several of the organizations experienced severe damage to their staffs and found themselves without the skilled men who possessed the "know-how" of negotiating a contract. The National and International unions suddenly found themselves without competent organizers, which was a very serious situation to them, in view of the expanding war industries and their increasing demand for unskilled workers. These disturbing factors plus the general consternation which pervades a wartime period, served to increase the need and demand for Council assistance. However, the Council itself was being adversely affected by the demands of the services, both military and civilian, and was not able to cope with the situation as well as they would have desired. The members of the Council either were in the military service or actively participating on the tri-partite boards which were established to handle the problems of rationing, war production, etc.

Although the preceding history of the Massachusetts State Council is brief, it is enough to make us appreciative of the difficulties with which they were faced. In the following pages the internal structure of the Council will be anatomized so as to give the reader an insight to the reasons for and workings of its component committees.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTION

One of the most momentous decisions made by any

group in the labor field on the theme of national, state and city politics was made at the CIO National Convention in 1943. It was on this occasion that the delegates to the Convention resolved to establish a Political Action Committee, the duties of which would be to instruct the American people how to exercise their voting privilege to their best advantage.

The idea had been in the "drawing board" stage for quite some time and the Congressional and state elections of 1942 motivated more expeditious planning on the part of the progressive forces within the organization. When the National Convention adopted the resolution to establish the Political Action Committee, this plan became a reality.

OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS

One fact which was of primary concern to the CIO in the formation of the PAC was that during off-year elections, that is, one in which no presidential candidates are being considered, it is a tremendous task to get the eligible voters registered and out to the polls. They realized from previous election experience that it was during these off-year periods that a small vote was cast and invariably, as a result, the "reactionaries" were voted into office and later gave labor a very difficult time. One of the most important tasks assigned to this new committee was to get all the voters they possibly could out to the polls on the election day.

Apropos of the above were the efforts expended by the state PAC in the elections of 1944 at which time they

inaugurated a state-wide registration campaign and during which they went to all extremes to get out the voters. Taxi services were operated, and baby-sitting squads set up so that the housewife and mother could register.

ACTION IN MASSACHUSETTS

Immediately following the action of the National CIO at the convention in 1943, the Massachusetts State CIO set up their state PAC, in January 1944. The seriousness and intent of this new committee was ably expressed by Joseph A. Salerno in an article in the 1945 Annual Year Book, when he wrote,

Political Action Committees were formed in every local union, ward, community and congressional district. A new type of worker came into being, in our American political life. Thousands of volunteers rang doorbells, visited their neighbors and arranged group and community meetings to explain the CIO program.

In the past, political workers usually supported candidates for party reasons or because the man running was a good fellow who fixed parking tickets and promised political jobs to his supporters. He was everything to everybody; his program was to pat people on the back, shake hands and kiss babies. The new PAC political worker did not ask for personal favors from the candidate as a basis for support. He received endorsement if his record showed that he supported our program. (1)

The impact of this new committee and its potential ability to exert tremendous influence on our voting habits

(1) "CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-1946," Joseph A. Salerno in the 8th Annual Year Book, Massachusetts State CIO Business Conference.

will more clearly be grasped if we have a thorough knowledge of its inner structure and the mechanics of its operation. For this reason the following pages will cover, in a detailed manner, the Massachusetts State CIO Political Action Committee in the hope that the reader by being better informed will be able to appreciate the tasks being undertaken by the PAC.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ACTION AND LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

In the Massachusetts State CIO Political Action Committee, the organization was established to insure the most complete coverage in the dissemination of political information for its member unions, and to give CIO labor, in this area a unified voice in the choice of its political representatives.

ORGANIZATION

The Committee is composed of the following members: Executive officers of the State CIO and members of the State CIO Industrial Union Council; all directors of CIO International Unions within the State; all CIO Regional and Sub-regional directors; chairmen of City and County Council Political Action Committees; chairmen of each Congressional District Political Action Committee; and each national or international union is entitled to one representative if it is not covered in the above named officers.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

As in most organizations, whether they are social, economic or political, the decisions of the group lie in hands of its Executive Committee.

In the State PAC of Massachusetts this important committee is made up of the following men:

- a. State PAC chairman;
- b. State PAC secretary-treasurer;
- c. The four vice-chairmen of the State PAC;
- d. The President, secretary-treasurer, and three vice-chairmen of the State CIO Council.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

The bulwark of the internal structure of the State PAC is in its Congressional Committee and, since it occupies such an important position, let us see how the Committee is set up.

A chairman and secretary-treasurer for each Congressional District within the State is elected at a conference of delegates from the local CIO unions within the Congressional District, provided these local unions are affiliated through payment of PAC per capita to the State Political Action Committee. The representation for the Congressional conference is on the basis of the per capita paid by the local unions to the State CIO Council for the first conference to set up the organization within the District. After that the representation of the local unions is determined on the basis of their per capita paid to the State Political Action Committee.

The Congressional District elect a Vice-Chairman and an Executive Committee in such manner as to give the most effective organization within the district.

CITY AND COUNCIL PAC

Approaching the Ward level, the PAC establishes City and County Committees which elect a Chairman and a Secretary-Treasurer at a conference composed of delegates from the local CIO unions in the district that are affiliated by payment of per capita tax to the State PAC.

Delegate representation for the first conference to set up the organization within the District is on the basis of the per capita paid by the local unions to the State CIO Council. Thereafter, the representation of the local unions shall be determined on the basis of their per capita paid to the State PAC.

FINANCE

To sponsor its work on all levels, the PAC is supported by the CIO membership who contribute a minimum of \$1.00 per member which is raised in the local CIO unions and disposed of in the following manner:

Fifty cents of each dollar is sent to the National Political Action Committee of the CIO through the respective International Unions, while twenty-five cents of the remaining fifty cents is sent to the Secretary-Treasurer of the State Political Action Committee. The remaining twenty-five cents remains in the local union and may be used to finance a county or city PAC organization or for such political activities as the local PAC organization may engage in.

ENDORSEMENTS

The CIO Political Action Committee's objectives constitute a program to advance the best interests not only of labor but "of the community, the state and the nation;" therefore, candidates for public office who support this program are worthy of the whole-hearted support of labor and of all

citizens devoted to progress and the shaping of a better America. (1)

The basic policy governing the method of endorsement of candidates for public office by the Political Action Committee of Massachusetts is by a conference composed of delegates from CIO unions affiliated with the State Political Action Committee.

Endorsement of candidates for public office in the respective voting areas within the State is made in the following manner:

1. The endorsement of candidates for the offices of Governor, Lt. Governor and other State offices, or that of a senator to the Federal Congress, is made at a State conference attended by delegates from CIO unions affiliated with the State Political Action Committee.

2. Congressmen are endorsed at Congressional District conferences attended by delegates from CIO unions within the Congressional District that are affiliated with the Congressional District Political Action Committee.

The State Political Action Committee cooperates, advises and assists the Congressional City and County PAC organizations to the end that the endorsement shall be given only to candidates who are not opposed to the CIO political action policies. However, the conference has the final voice in the determination of an endorsement. It is the duty of the State Committee to publicly disavow CIO support to any candidate who has been endorsed in violation of CIO policies.

(1) CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-1946 by Joseph A. Salerno, 1945 Convention Year Book

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

The most obvious manifestation of the work of the PAC is seen in its drives to get out the vote.

The Political Action Committees of the Massachusetts CIO carry on energetic campaigns within their respective areas to insure that every CIO member and members of their families, if duly qualified, become registered voters. It is urged that voter registration campaigns by organized CIO groups be extended to assist neighbors and friends to become registered voters.

The Block system of carrying on political activities, as set forth by the National Political Action Committee was carefully studied and used wherever it could be made effective to acquaint people with the political issues of the day.

It has been found that the Block System and the organizations within the system provide the best methods to secure voter registration, publicity on political issues and a high percentage of voter participation at the polls.

CIO POLITICAL ACTION OBJECTIVES

Having seen the "how" and "why" of the PAC operation, we shall now view the goals to which this committee aspires.

To establish norms by which their progress could be accurately measured, the PAC set up definite plans of attack and

positive objectives of intended achievement, both on the national and local levels.

The one objective which has been regarded as being the ultimate goal is the sincere desire to impart a greater knowledge of the government to the people and to inspire them to more active participation in the affairs of this government.

Progressive legislation for "the benefit of the people," especially on the questions of health and housing, was backed at the 1947 National convention. Special references were made to the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill on housing and to the National Health Act of Wagner-Murray-Dingell. Firm support to these measures were again given at the 1948 convention along with the following:

1. A federal tax law based on the ability to pay and fair to the low income groups;
2. The enactment of a federal anti-poll tax law;
3. The enactment of a 75¢ minimum wage amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act;
4. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley law;
5. Development of the country's resources along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority;
6. An effective law to curb big business monopoly, and
7. A Fair Employment Practices Commission.

On the state level we find that the Massachusetts State CIO adopted convention resolutions to back the following proposals as their PAC goals for the years 1947 and 1948. (The questions which have not yet been favorably acted upon re-

main on their agenda of action this year.)

1. Granting unemployment benefits to workers locked out or to workers who were forced to strike because the employer refused to arbitrate;

2. Extension of unemployment benefits to all those who are not covered presently;

3. Establishment of a 75¢ minimum wage law;

4. Immediate enactment of a State law which would curb evictions during the housing shortage and insure a housing program that will provide low-cost housing;

5. The elimination of the "experience rating or merit rating" provisions of the Massachusetts Employment Security Law;

6. A State law to curb the use of injunctions in a labor dispute;

7. The establishment of a State Fund for Workmen's Compensation;

8. A State law requiring the filing of financial information available to the public by all corporations, etc.; similar to the union reports under the Barnes Law.

EARLY ACTIVITY OF THE STATE PAC

During the first year of operation, 1944, the Massachusetts State CIO Political Action Committee proved to the citizens of the Commonwealth what labor could do in the field of politics.

In the presidential elections of that year, Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected and in this state, the PAC distributed "over 90,000,000 pieces of literature, held hundreds of mass meetings" and sponsored a great number of radio programs in a coordinated effort with the National PAC to "awaken the American voter" and to "marshall public opinion." It was

during this year that the committee held several state conferences, attended by labor officials, at which the meaning and intentions of the PAC were outlined.

Heretofore, organized labor's outward participation in politics had been quite limited and now for the first time, it had a formal plan which eradicated all surreptitious political activity. Under the direction of the National PAC the country would now be kept informed as to the position of the CIO on every major issue of our government policy.

There were those who felt that labor should not engage in politics and in refutation to these quarters, Joseph A. Salerno authored an article wherein he wrote:

We cannot gain such things as full employment, a national minimum wage law of 65¢ per hour, fair tax payments and a guaranteed annual wage, without government help. And we will not get government help unless we make it clear to the public servants that they will suffer on election day if they do not accept our fair program. We can only get these things by engaging in politics. (1)

BARNES BILL IS PASSED WITHOUT PAC OPPOSITION

In the year of 1945, the state PAC was preparing for the Congressional elections which were to come in the following year. This was to be an off-year election and a difficulty was being anticipated in getting out the vote.

(1) "CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-1946" by Joseph A. Salerno, 1945 Convention Year Book.

In 1946 so much attention was devoted to the Congressional contest that the State Committee was caught unaware by the introduction and subsequent passage of the Barnes Bill in November of that year. There were several independent skirmishes against the proposed bill, but the organized and coordinated opposition was absent. At the time, the import of this bill was not fully comprehended and it was not until it had become law that labor recognized that it had on hand a law which threatened to burden its administrative capacity to the limit. From the labor standpoint the law seemed to be unduly burdensome and unworkable. The wealth of detail and records demanded of labor organizations in this law indicated that the activity of such organizations could be ham-strung by legal red tape.

For an example of the demands imposed upon labor organizations by this new law let us look at Section 2 wherein the requirements are such that if the law was to be carried out to the letter it would detract so much time from the administrative capacity of the organization that the internal affairs would have to be overlooked.

This section reads as follows:

The president and secretary of such labor unions shall thereafter make an annual report to the commissioner of labor and industries in such form as he may prescribe, and signed by the president and secretary of such labor union, setting forth the amount of money collected for initiation fees, dues, fines and assessments, and setting forth the amount paid in salaries to officers, listing their names and addresses, and the

amount paid to each of such officers, and setting forth all other expenditures, listing the name and address and the amount paid to each person. (1)

As can be seen from this section, the union representative sent to Washington, for example, would have to do untold paper work to comply with the law. He would have to record every expenditure he made and to whom it was paid. This would cover taxi fares, tips to waiters, bell boys and hat check girls and paper boys. Needless to say the task asked of unions begins to assume gargantuan proportions.

CIO LEGISLATIVE COUNTEROFFENSIVE

To combat the existing situation and in the hope of rectifying it in the future, the State CIO, in the person of its Legislative Agent, Mr. Albert G. Clifton, filed a bill with the General Court which would make all corporations in this state report the same things demanded of labor unions under the Barnes law. The CIO bill was copied verbatim from the Barnes law and substituted the name "corporation" for the words "labor unions". (2)

This retaliatory measure met with vigorous protestations from the sponsors of the Barnes law because it was "an invasion of the right of private enterprise."

(1) Section 2 of "An Act to provide that Labor Unions shall file certain statements and reports with the Commissioner of Labor and Industry." Also see Appendix, page 100.

(2) See CIO Political Action Objective for the State of Massachusetts, #9.

SLICHTER ACT PASSED BY STATE LEGISLATURE

In 1947, another proposal of restrictive legislation was passed by the State legislature. This was called "AN ACT PROVIDING FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES DANGEROUS TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY", more popularly referred to as the Slichter Act. This act was the result of the work done by a special tri-partite committee appointed by the Governor and headed by Professor Slichter of Harvard University. On the committee were representatives of labor (prominent among whom was Jack Hurvich of the Steelworkers Union and past president of the Boston City Council of the CIO), management and the people. The bill which they proposed at the conclusion of their study was supposed to be the most equitable answer to all three groups.

However, the State CIO felt that this bill was restrictive and potentially dangerous, in that it gave the State, in the person of the Governor, the authority to take possession of a plant which was engaged in an industrial dispute when "as a result of a labor dispute an interruption of production or distribution has occurred or is imminently threatened which would curtail the availability of essential goods and services, (food, fuel, water, electric light and power, gas, and hospital and medical service) to such an extent as to endanger the health or safety of any community." (1)

(1) "An Act Providing For the Peaceful Settlement of Industrial Disputes Dangerous to the Public Health and Safety."

Although the CIO was fundamentally opposed to the bill, it did approve the changes in the mediation and conciliation agencies of the State Labor Department which the bill called for.

It is not within the scope of this paper to discern whether or not the stand taken by the State CIO was justified; suffice it to say that the CIO did oppose the law and still does on the grounds that it restricts the free exercise of its rights as a union.

RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Another legislative blow was delivered in 1947, and has had the forces of labor aroused against it since that time. This law was of national consequence and was called the "Labor-Management Relation Act of 1947." This act has the more popular name of the "Taft-Hartley Law".

STATE COUNCIL OPPOSITION

When this bill was in the process of becoming law, the National CIO asked all State CIO Councils to send delegates to Washington and to have them talk with the Congressmen and Senators about the bill. The Massachusetts State CIO sent from 150 to 175 delegates in coordinated effort to defeat this unfavorable legislation.

Pressure against this law has been constant and unrelenting. All labor organizations led by the aggressive CIO

PAC have been united for a showdown battle to repeal this law.

STATE ACTIVITY

On the State level, activity against the Taft-Hartley Law has been expressed and manifested by countless radio forums; literature distribution; public addresses aimed at educating the great mass of people who comprise our citizenry; planes flown over all the major industrial sections of Massachusetts with large banners carrying the CIO's veto message and long distance telephone calls and telegrams reaching the legislators from the various offices throughout the state. This brief list of activities, of course, does not purport to cover the entire program of opposition which the State PAC has established to have this law repealed.

MASSACHUSETTS PAC'S BIGGEST VICTORY TO DATE

To say that the year 1948 was an active one would be the height of understatement. How many of the citizens who voted at the polls last November did not come in contact with the PAC program? Each and every medium of advertising was utilized to its utmost advantage to defeat the anti-labor proposals on the referendum. Radio, newspapers, movies and the

rest of the field were exploited to get the point across to the voters that Referenda 5, 6, and 7 were detrimental to labor and therefore to a very great percentage of our state population.

In regard to questions of this nature a doubt has often arisen as to the justification of the organized labor groups to align the interests of the community with the interests of labor. That is, labor continually feels that its interests are coincident with the interests of the community. The CIO answer to this query is quite simple and follows along these lines; it is safe to assume that 85 percent of the state population works for livelihood and any change in their status had a direct effect on their families and, in turn, upon the whole community.

Since this percentage represents the bulk of the people it seems reasonable to project it for all and it is for this reason that the CIO feels that its interests are the same as the community's. Anyone who works for another, whether a formal member of an organized union or not, is a member of the labor group. It is not necessary that a union member wear overalls and have dirty hands; looked at from this perspective, the emphasis is sometimes clearer as to why an interest in labor is more than likely to be shared by all the people.

It was with this aspect in mind that the State PAC so vigorously opposed those referenda last November.

POST-ELECTION REPORT

After those elections, the following report was issued by the Massachusetts State CIO-PAC:

Every segment of organized labor in Massachusetts participated in the unprecedented campaign conducted prior to the recent election for the purpose of defeating three anti-labor referenda. The result of this successful campaign was the largest "No" vote ever registered against any referendum in this state.

Related to the successful campaign to defeat Referenda Questions 5, 6, and 7 was the intensive registration drive which ended with a record-breaking registration of new voters in every part of the state and to the success of which was attributed the election of labor-supported candidates in six Congressional Districts. To this intensive effort by labor can also be attributed the election of State Democratic candidates and gain of majority of seats in Massachusetts General Court.

The most important lesson learned in this campaign is that there is a vital need for setting up an efficient and effective year-round political organization. The need for an efficiently-working organization will be more essential in 1950 when there will be no presidential contest to stimulate general interest and no referenda to stimulate local interest. There will be, however, important Congressional District contests in which labor will be called upon to play an active part.

While organized labor cannot forego its role in the field of collective bargaining and that it must at all times work for economic progress relative to wages, hours, working conditions, and the security of union members, we must never again forget that every gain we make in the economic field can be dangerously threatened or wiped out entirely unless labor remains active in the political field to prevent reactionaries from acquiring control of our law-making machinery.

Submitted then for consideration by this body are the following recommendations:

(1) that unity in the ranks of organized labor-such as that which brought about the defeat of Referenda 5, 6, and 7 - be promoted and encouraged everywhere in the state;

(2) that, to insure the setting up of effective individual units, all local political action committees be chartered by the Massachusetts State CIO after they have complied with whatever rules and requirements have been formulated and stipulated by the official State CIO - PAC.

(3) that the ultimate goal of the State CIO-PAC shall be to set up active precinct committees to cover every precinct in Massachusetts;

(4) that a state-wide conference be called at the earliest possible date by the State CIO-PAC to implement this program and work out the details.

UNITED LABOR COMMITTEE

The Massachusetts State CIO-PAC cannot close this report without recommending strongly that united action by organized labor on the political field - because of the great success that resulted from the efforts of the United Labor Committee - be continued in the future, aiming toward an ever-closer labor unity in the struggle for our common ideals. (1)

HOW DOES THE PAC DIFFER FROM THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE?

Since a high degree of intergration exists between the work of the PAC and the Legislative Committee, and its agent, and because their primary purposes are so closely allied due to the political rather than organizational, social, or economic overtones, it would be well for the reader to know the distinguishing marks of these most important committees.

Outstanding among the differentiating characteristics is the tenure of each of these committees; that is, in

(1) Massachusetts State CIO-PAC Report, 1948.

the case of the PAC, once the group has been established, it becomes a permanent fixture in the organization, although its duties are concentrated only during the election years. In the off-year periods its duties involve strategic planning for anticipated future tactical encounters.

However, in the case of the Legislative Committee we find that it exists, per se, at each annual convention and functions as a committee only during the convention period.

WHAT DOES THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE DO?

The Legislative Committee reviews all the bills requiring legislative action, which have been referred to it and after such review, presents the findings to the main body of the convention. Whatever is decided upon by the delegates to the convention, then becomes the job, not of the Legislative Committee, but of the Legislative Agent. It is his duty to carry out the actions so designated by the convention for the ensuing year at the State House. This often requires that he appear before special State Senate committees to explain the stand of the CIO and the reasons for this stand. Along with performing the various duties which arise because of the very nature of his job, the Legislative Agent delivers reports of progress to the Executive Council of the State CIO about every three months. However, the Executive Council keeps its finger on the State House pulse at all times through every-

day personal contact with the Agent. The quarterly report is of a summary type and gives concise information about the latest status quo of the bills in which the Council is interested. To exemplify these reports, I have chosen the "Legislative Report to the Executive Council, March 12, 1949"; this report will give to the reader a clear conception of what the report contains and how it is set up by the Legislative Agent.

Up to March 10th, the Committee on Labor and Industries has held hearings on eight days and heard seventy-four bills.

Hearings scheduled for hearing days March 15th, 17th, 22nd and 24th are for thirty-six bills. All but one of these thirty-six bills deal with Workmen's Compensation. If a Recess Commission report now being printed becomes available before the end of March, the subject matter of this report - which contains many proposals that bills filed this year also cover on the Workmen's Compensation field - this report also will be heard so by April 1st all bills on Workmen's Compensation will then have been given hearings.

A Recess Report on Minimum Wages and Hours for women and children has been printed, and this report, with several bills covering the same subjects, will probably be heard early in April.

Among the first bills heard in February were some unemployment compensation measures. Many of these dealt with Form 131 - a device used by the former Director of the Employment Security Division - to trap workers into answers that disqualified them for benefits. The bills called for the abolition of this or any other similar form.

Also heard were six bills to provide unemployment compensation after a period of weeks to those unemployed because of a labor dispute. Among these bills was H 729 our CIO bill. Delegations from U.E., Furniture, Fur and Leather and Packinghouse appeared for these bills; also O'Brien, the Pro-

gressive candidate at the last election against Herter; and to round out full measure Ann Burlak, representing the Communist Party, spoke and specifically favored our State CIO Bill H 729 even though U.E. had a bill and also a petitioner named Werkman, who is identified with the Progressive Party, had a bill. Some U.E. members, who are on strike in the Boston area, were recruited to fill the hearing room. This kind of a bill has had tough going in previous years, and this action of the above groups has not helped any this year to further our chances of getting a strike unemployment measure through.

All these bills, or at least most of them and definitely the strike measures, will not be reported out by the Committee until April as there are other unemployment bills yet to be heard; also a Recess Commission has yet to report so the balance of the unemployment bills to be heard and the Recess Report will be up together probably in April.

On February 28th, Reginald Zalles and I appeared before the Committee on State Administration in support of the proposals contained in the Governor's address, Senate 1 Pages 16-17-18, to provide for a New Commission on the Necessaries of Life with added power to effectively curb unwarranted price increases.

Also, Durham Miller and Zalles appeared for the State CIO in support of H 543 which would give the American Veterans Committee similar status to the Legion and V.F.W. as a veteran's organization entitled to certain privileges extended veterans' organizations by the Commonwealth.

On March 28th, Bill H 1037, filed jointly by the AFL and the CIO to provide for an exclusive State Fund for Workmen's compensation coverage, will be heard by the Committee on State Administration. A powerful insurance lobby has been working for over a month in lining up opposition to this bill. The insurance interests, both the stock and mutual companies, have laid aside past differences and are working closely to defeat this bill. They have extensively circulated a pamphlet entitled "Monopoly" that is grossly misleading about State Funds.

While in some cases and on some particular bills, more good is accomplished without demonstrations or delegations, this is a situation where it is advisable for as many locals as possible to send observers to this March 28th hearing. Because the bill is jointly sponsored by both labor groups, and because action will be taken before other labor bills are reported from committee, what happens on H 1037 may determine what labor will gain from the present session. It requires a good strong fight on our part for our prestige is at stake.

Also when the anti-injunction bills are up, we should have delegations at the hearing.

As I complete this report, the Boston Post of February 11th, on the front page, carries a story about the report of the Recess Commission on the Employment Security Act. This Commission reported Thursday, March 10th. This means several weeks will elapse before the report is printed. The Commission favors covering Maritime Workers and this greatly aids the chances of having the Act amended so these workers will be eligible to receive compensation if unemployed.

The State CIO can take full credit for this advance in coverage which will protect our CIO members and your Legislative Agent takes particular pride for he has fought this seamen coverage through the 1947 and 1948 sessions of the General Court and also before two Recess Commissions, and also has had the opposition of the Unemployment Administration.

To summarize where we stand, the Democrats are carrying the ball. Responsibility engenders a conservative approach. While too early to say definitely, it is possible we may have to give considerable support to the Democrats close to labor in order to get over our programs. The entire question of legislation and its course is not clear yet. The Republicans are still a factor. Will they go all out on crack-pot, ill-advised measures to embarrass the Administration; or will they maintain their traditional opposition to liberal, progressive labor measures? Our program of action, to a large degree, depends on what course of the two the Republicans will take, and even this is

over-simplification for many other angles are in the picture. In any event, we must be prepared to:

1. Get out immediately letters to Senators and Representatives when a particular bill is up.
2. Use our local union people to contact the legislators back in the home districts.
3. Prepare material for legislators so they can present, on the House and Senate floors, our program. (1)

While on the question of reports made by the Legislative Agent, we should mention the yearly recapitulation that is made to the annual convention; this report, of more detail than the others, covers a years' work, and is understandingly more inclusive. (2)

AGENT BECOMES A FULL-TIME APPOINTMENT

From the years 1943 to 1946 the office of Legislative Agent was filled by a part-time appointee. It was not until the latter year that a full-time appointment was made and the position was filled by George Markham. In 1947, Markham was replaced by Albert G. Clifton, formerly of the Textile Workers Union, and he today still acts in this capacity.

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION

It was disclosed by Mr. Clifton in a recent interview,

(1) Legislative Report to the Executive Council, March 12, 1949.

(2) For a complete reference to these reports see "Legislative Reports", Annual Convention Year Book, Massachusetts State CIO, Industrial Union Council, 1945, 1946, 1947 and 1948.

that of all the pieces of legislation with which he and his predecessors have come in contact, three of these number always seem to catch his eye and he believed that they were quite important. First among them was the bill proposed by Representative McDonough which, incidently had been filed and received adverse reports several times previously, and which dealt with the question of reducing the interest rate on small loans from three percent to two percent per month. This proposed bill would cover all those loans up to three-hundred dollars.

The second was on the question of Unemployment Compensation wherein the maximum benefit was increased from twenty-one dollars to twenty-five dollars per week for twenty-three weeks. In 1945 it had been raised from eighteen dollars for twenty weeks to twenty-one dollars for twenty-three weeks. Now the really important phase of this bill was the additional benefit which was sponsored by the Textile Workers Union, and introduced by Representative William J. Casey of Lawrence and provided an additional two dollars per week for each dependent child under eighteen years of age, the total amount not to exceed the amount of the worker's wage. This bill became operative in April 1947 after intense opposition from the Associated Industries of Massachusetts who sponsored a bill introduced by Representative Kelly of North Attleboro and which was designed to prevent the additional two dollars benefit for each dependent child of an unemployed worker from going into

effect until April 1, 1948. This amendment was defeated by the work of the many Legislative Committees of the local unions which acquainted the State Senators with their opposition to any changes in the dependency law as originally passed.

The third bill of which Mr. Clifton made mention was the House bill 2290 which provided that a widow shall receive compensation for life unless she remarries or becomes fully self-supporting. Formerly, a widow received no further payments after the maximum sum had been paid.

These bills, while not necessarily of tremendous stature in themselves, do represent significant victories over bitter opposition. In every case, the opponents were the Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Industries of Massachusetts or the Massachusetts Citizens Union.

Probably the greatest victory for the PAC, the Legislative Committee and all of the labor groups combined was had when the three anti-labor referenda were smashed in an ignominious defeat at the polls in November 1948. Pages could be and have been written on the labor victory, and I feel that any additional coverage at this time would be superfluous. However, for another source to this subject, the reader may refer to "The Story of a Battle Won" by Gerard Kable in the 1948 Annual Year Book of the Massachusetts State CIO, Industrial Union Council, which views the situation from

the labor standpoint, but at the same time gives the layman an insight to the workings of the how, when, where and why of the two above-named committees.

OTHER COMMITTEES

Having covered the more important committees of the State Council and the functions thereof, the problem now arises as to the functions of the other committees of which previous mention has been made.

As was stated in the model constitution, each council, being an autonomous group, may choose the type of committees that it feels will satisfy its own particular needs. The listing of the several committees in the model were for purposes of suggestion and not compulsion to newly formed councils. In the case of the Massachusetts State CIO it was decided that the convention committees would be as follows: credentials, rules, organization, resolution, reception and entertainment, election, educational, constitutional, legislation, appeals and grievance, finance.

It is important that we notice the word "convention" before the designation of these committees, for, from this do we gain the correct interpretation of the nature of all committees. The fact of the matter is, that these committees function only at conventions and are appointed for that period, after which their authority is automatically emasculated.

In the case of the Reception and Entertainment Committee, their duties begin only after the convention date has been set; the appointments are made and the committee then begins to function. Their tasks involve the numerous little, but nevertheless important items such as making the arrangements for securing a suitable hall for the convention; designing and ordering the delegate badges, auditioning and hiring an orchestra; reserving enough rooms for caucus meetings; arranging for the main banquet; and of very great importance, ascertaining the approximate number of rooms in the immediate area that will be available to house all the delegates. This last assignment is of such magnitude and importance that it holds high priority on the business agenda of all Entertainment Committees.

The Credentials Committee functions only at the opening of the convention and its duty is to determine the eligibility of the delegates upon presentation of their credentials, to be seated at the convention. If a question arises as to the right of a delegate to be seated, the person in question may appeal the Committee decision to the Executive Board for review.

The Committees on Rules, Resolutions, Elections and Constitution work in close contact with each other throughout the entire convention. Under their jurisdiction, the business of the meeting is carried on, and amendments to the Council

constitution are channelled by way of this group so as to insure their minute investigation.

The Education Committee is of such a nature that we may see, in the near future, more and more emphasis being placed on it. The campaign of organized labor to educate the public to the ends of the labor, while presently being carried on under the auspices of the PAC, will eventually be decentralized so that the Education Committee will have charge of the non-political aspects of lay education. In its present capacity, the group collects and disseminates information to the membership on such important questions as wages, hours, comparative working conditions and so forth.

The field of non-political education is one of vast potentialities, and the Council is well aware of this fact. Since there is more and more attention being focussed on the uniqueness of the aims of organized labor and the ends for all the citizenry, it certainly is not illogical to conclude that the agency under whose jurisdiction falls the job of keeping the membership and the general public informed as to their mutual needs and ends shall assume a role of relative importance in any projected plan of operation.

In conclusion, then, it is evident from the investigation of these committees, their duties and functions, that the overall progress and success of the individual Council is directly geared to the progress and success of its component parts. The failure of any of these committees to fulfill its

duties to the best of its ability seriously jeopardizes the well-being of the entire organization; and conversely, the individual achievement of each integral part of the whole is added insurance that success is forthcoming.

A P P E N D I X

MODEL CONSTITUTION FOR CITY AND
COUNTY INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

This model constitution is subject in all respects to the CIO constitution and the rules for Industrial Union Councils. Each section should therefore be read in conjunction with the CIO constitution and rules in order to determine the full powers and rights and duties of the Council and its officers and delegates.

ARTICLE I - Name and Affiliation

Sec. 1. This organization shall be known as the Industrial Union Council and shall be affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations in accordance with the terms of the certificate of affiliation granted by the CIO.

ARTICLE II - Objects

Sec. 1. The objects of the Council shall be to secure united action of all locals of national and international unions and organizing committees and local industrial unions and industrial union councils affiliated to the CIO within its jurisdiction and through united action to protect, maintain and advance the interests of all working people in its territory, to extend unionism on the basis of industrial organization, to secure and enforce legislation in the interests of the working people, to promote recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining in industry, and to increase public understanding of the labor movement.

ARTICLE III - Delegates

Sec. 1. The Council shall be composed of delegates from locals in good standing with their respective parent organizations, of national and international unions and organizing committees and local industrial unions affiliated with the CIO.

Sec. 2. A delegate must be a member of an affiliated local union or an accredited representative of its parent organization. Duly authorized representatives of the CIO shall be entitled to the privileges of a regular delegate except that they shall not be permitted to vote unless they are also duly selected delegates of an affiliate of the Council.

Sec. 3. Delegates to the Council shall be certified by officers of their organization on credential forms provided by the Recording Secretary of the Council.

Sec. 4. Only members in good standing of the organization they are elected to represent shall be seated as delegates.

Sec. 5. Should any delegate absent himself from three consecutive meetings and fail to present a reasonable excuse, his seat may be declared vacant upon due notice and hearing, whereupon the President shall so notify the organization represented by said delegate and request that his seat be filled at once.

ARTICLE IV - Officers and Elections

Sec. 1. The regular officers of the Council shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Financial Sec-

retary, Treasurer, Sergeant-at-Arms and three Trustees.

Note: Two or more of these offices may be combined.

Sec. 2. The officers shall be elected at the first Council meeting in the month of and shall hold office for a term of twelve months, unless removed for cause or until their successors have been elected or installed in office, provided that at the first election after the CIO certificate of affiliation is received, officers shall be elected for a term of months.

Sec. 3. Only delegates from organizations in good standing with the Council shall be eligible to run for office.

Sec. 4. At any one time not more than members of the same organization may serve as officers or as members of the Executive Board of the Council.

Sec. 5. Questions coming before any meeting of the Council may be decided by a division or show of hands. A roll call vote may be demanded by 20 percent of the delegates present at such meeting. In the event of a roll call vote, the delegates of each affiliated local union shall be entitled to cast as many votes as there are members of such affiliate. The votes of each affiliate shall be divided equally among its delegates present. The membership of each affiliate for such purposes shall be based upon its average per capita tax payments to the Council and exonerations for the second, third, and fourth months prior to the month in which the roll call vote is taken.

Note: See Letter Interpreting Rules on Roll Call for further details regarding this provision.

Sec. 6. Elections shall be by secret ballot unless a roll call vote is demanded by 20 percent of the delegates present. It shall require a majority of votes cast to elect each officer except the trustees. If no candidate receives a majority, then all except the two highest shall be eliminated and a second vote taken. Trustees shall be elected by plurality vote, and the three candidates receiving the highest votes shall be elected.

Sec. 7. Before a secret vote is taken, it shall be the duty of the President or presiding officer to appoint two or more tellers to see that the ballots are properly counted, and to safeguard the secrecy and honesty of the vote. For purposes of a roll call vote, the officers shall submit to the meeting a list showing the number of votes to which each affiliate is entitled, and after the roll call they shall compute the number of votes to which each delegate present was entitled and shall tabulate the results accordingly.

Sec. 8. A vacancy in an office caused by death or otherwise shall be filled by election at the next regular meeting, provided that at least one week's notice of such pending election shall be given.

Sec. 9. Should any officer absent himself from three consecutive meetings and fail to present a valid excuse, his office may upon notice and hearing be declared vacant and an election held to fill the unexpired term.

Sec. 10. At the expiration of the term of office, by termination or otherwise, of any officer, he shall turn over to his successor all money, property, papers, records and books of the Council that may be in his possession.

ARTICLE V - Duties of Officers

Sec. 1. The President shall preside and preserve order at all meetings of the Council, appoint all committees not otherwise provided for, and transact such other business as may of right appertain to the office. He shall be an ex-officio member of all committees of the Council.

Sec. 2. The Vice-President shall assist the President and shall perform the duties of the President in the case of Absence of that officer.

Sec. 3. The Recording Secretary shall keep a correct record of the proceedings of the meetings, shall carry on all correspondence connected with the business of the council, and perform such other duties as may be assigned.

Sec. 4. The Financial Secretary shall receive and keep a record of the moneys paid into the Council, shall pay over all moneys to the Treasurer and receive a receipt, and shall perform such other duties as are usual to his office or that may be assigned.

Sec. 5. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys from the Financial Secretary and give a receipt of the same, pay all bills duly authorized, and deposit all amounts in the bank in the

name of the Council, He shall report the condition of the treasury from time to time as the Council may direct, and submit his books and records to the Trustees whenever required.

Sec. 6. The Trustees shall hold property of the Council in trust in their names as such Trustees. They shall audit the accounts and books of the Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary and Treasurer every three months and report the result of said audit to the next regular meeting. They shall send a copy of the audit to the Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO. All bills shall be referred to them, and they shall make recommendations on payment thereof.

Sec. 7. The Sergeant-at-Arms shall take charge of the door and assist the President in preserving order when called upon to do so.

Note: CIO Rule 19 requires the bonding of all money-handling officers and agents.

ARTICLE VI - Executive Committee

Sec. 1. The Executive Committee shall be composed of members, including the President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. Members of the Executive Committee, other than the officers, shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the officers.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for making recommendations in regard to the work of the Council; for coor-

minating the work of the Standing Committees; for seeing that the decisions of the Council are carried out; and, between general meetings, for making decisions in regard to matters not in conflict with this Constitution, such decisions to be reported for approval or disapproval at the next meeting of the Council.

ARTICLE VII - Committees

Sec. 1. The President shall appoint the members of all committees subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. The Standing Committees, in addition to the Executive Committee, shall consist of:

Credentials Committee.
 Organization Committee.
 Legislative Committee.
 Education Committee.
 Political Action Committee.
 Consumers Committee.
 Entertainment Committee.

Note: If desired, a smaller number of committees may be provided for and the functions of several as outlined be given to one committee, or some of these functions may be assigned to the Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. Special committees may be appointed or elected as needed and shall report at the next regular meeting, unless otherwise ordered.

ARTICLE VIII - Duties of Committees

Credentials Committee

Sec. 1. The Credentials Committee shall pass on credentials

of delegates and shall have referred to it any questions involving the right of a delegate to be seated, subject to the approval of the Council.

Note: CIO Rule 22 provides that the decision of the Council involving the right of any officer or delegate may be appealed to the Executive Board.

Organization Committee

Sec. 2. The Organization Committee shall endeavor to organize unorganized wage earners and shall assist in the organization work of affiliated unions.

Sec. 3. The Organization Committee shall have referred to it all questions involving requests for relief by affiliated organizations.

Education Committee

Sec. 4. The Education Committee shall handle all matters pertaining to schools and textbooks, and shall be in charge of any program of labor education decided upon by the Council.

Sec. 5. The Education Committee shall collect and make available information wages, hours of labor, etc., in the various industries and shall secure information on other matters as requested by the Council.

Legislative Committee

Sec. 6. The Legislative Committee shall look after all matters pertaining to legislation affecting labor. It shall endeavor to have put upon the statute books of the municipal, county, state and national governments such laws as are beneficial to

labor, and shall insist upon a rigid enforcement of the same.

Political Action Committee

Sec. 7. The Political Action Committee shall be responsible for the registration of union members and for bringing out the vote. It shall cooperate with the Political Action Committee of the State Industrial Union Council and with the National CIO Political Action Committee. It shall undertake such further political activities as may be directed by the Council or by the State or National Political Action Committees.

Consumer's Committee

Sec. 8. The Consumer's Committee shall deal with problems of price control, cost of living, and consumers' cooperatives, shall promote the use of union labels and trademarks, shall assist organizations affiliated with the CIO in endeavoring to introduce products bearing the same to the exclusion of goods not so labelled, and shall in other ways promote the use of labor buying power to further the interests of organized labor.

Sec. 9. If a new union label is brought to the Council for endorsement, it shall first be referred to the Consumers' Committee, which shall investigate its claims and report at the next regular meeting.

Note: CIO Rule 11 regulates the use of labels.

Entertainment Committee

Sec. 10. The Entertainment Committee shall have charge of all

entertainments, picnics or celebrations except as otherwise directed by Council.

ARTICLE IX - Meetings

Sec. 1. Regular meetings of the Council shall be held once a month.

Sec. 2. Delegates representing organizations affiliated to the Council shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 3. Special meetings may be called upon notice by the President when so instructed by a majority of the Executive Committee, or of the affiliated organizations.

ARTICLE X - Finances

Sec. 1. The affiliation fee from organizations shall be \$.... Locals shall pay a per capita tax of¢ per member per month. Each local union shall pay its per capita tax or receive exoneration for the same number of members that it pays per capita or receives exoneration from its International Union or the CIO.

Sec. 2. If any organization shall become unable to pay the per capita tax because of financial difficulty caused by strikes, lockout or other involuntary causes, it may report such circumstances to the Executive Committee which may, if it is convinced that the request is justified, notify the Financial Secretary to exonerate such organization, subject to the approval of the Council.

Sec. 3. Organizations in arrears for three months shall be notified by the Financial Secretary, and if payment is not made

within one month after date of notification, the local upon a hearing may be suspended by the Council.

ARTICLE XI - Charges and Trials

Sec. 1. Any delegate preferring charges against an officer or delegate of the Council shall make the charges in writing giving facts, and must sign the charges. The charges shall be filed with the Recording Secretary, or his alternate if he is charged, who shall furnish a copy to the accused within five days after they have been received.

Note: CIO Rule 17 specifies the grounds for such charges.

Sec. 2. At the next meeting of the Council the presiding officer shall cause the charges as filed to be read to the Council. After discussion and consideration, the following question shall be put to a vote by secret ballot: "Shall the charges as presented, be deemed worthy of trial?"

Sec. 3. If the charges are by a majority vote found worthy of trial, they shall be referred to a special trial board of five delegates, who shall be elected or appointed as desired by the Council. The defendant or the person preferring the charges shall have the right to protest the election or appointment of any delegate on the board, provided that the protest is made at the time the board is elected or appointed, but neither the defendant nor the person preferring the charges shall have the right to challenge more than three delegates.

Sec. 4. The trial board shall have authority to summon wit-

nesses for both sides of the controversy, and shall notify all parties concerned in writing, requesting that they appear before the Board. Any delegate in good standing shall be allowed to attend the trial as a spectator.

Sec. 5. The findings and recommendations of the trial board shall be reported to the Council at its next regular meeting for the disposition of the charges. The accused shall have the right of defense before the Council.

Sec. 6. The presiding officer shall submit to a vote of the delegates present the question of guilt or acquittal. Two-thirds of the votes of members present, and voted by secret ballot, shall be necessary to convict. If more than one offense has been charged, the vote shall be taken separately on each charge in the same manner.

Sec. 7. Any officer of the Council, if found guilty, shall vacate the office.

ARTICLE XII - By-Laws

The by-laws of the Council may be changed by a majority vote at any meeting, provided notice is given in advance.

ARTICLE XIII - Amendments

Sec. 1. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been given in advance.

BY-LAWS

The following by-laws should be adopted at the same time as the constitution. The purpose of the by-laws is to provide for the details in carrying on the business of the Council in accordance with CIO rules and the constitution of the Council itself.

Credentials

Sec. 1. Credentials of newly elected delegates shall be mailed at least 7 days before the next meeting of the Council to the recording secretary and shall be passed upon by the credentials committee before said meeting.

Installation of Officers

Sec. Y2. Installation of officers shall take place immediately upon their election or at the next regular meeting following the election.

Publicity

Sec. 3. The President shall be in charge of issuing statements to the press.

COMMITTEES

Sec. 4. The Executive Committee shall meet on at o'clock.

Sec. 5. A majority of each committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of its business and all decisions of committees shall be by majority vote of those present at a quorum.

Sec. 6. All standing committees, and all special committees unless otherwise directed, shall report to the Executive Com-

mittee at its monthly meeting.

Sec. 7. The first person named to a committee shall be its chairman unless another is chosen by the committee.

Sec. 8. Each organization shall be entitled to not more than members on any one committee.

Sec. 9. Committees holding money belonging to the Council shall, at the next regular meeting of the Council, deliver same into the hands of the Treasurer, together with all vouchers and accounts, and take a receipt therefor.

Sec. 10. The chairman of committees shall notify committee members of the time and place of committee meetings. If any delegate appointed to a committee fails to attend three consecutive meetings of the committee, the chairman of the same shall report his absence to the President of the Council, who shall declare the place vacant and appoint another delegate to fill his place, unless the absent committeeman presents sufficient excuse to justify his non-attendance.

Sec. 11. Standing committees shall have the following number of members:

Credentials Committee:
Organization Committee:
Legislative Committee:
Education Committee:
Political Action Committee:
Consumers Committee:
Entertainment Committee:

MEETINGS

Sec. 12. The hour of meeting of the Council shall be promptly at o'clock.

Sec. 13. Members of the press may be admitted to the meetings of this body provided that at any time the Council deems it necessary, the reporters shall retire.

Sec. 14. A time limit of ten (10) minutes shall be placed on delegates on the floor, and no delegate may be allowed to speak longer than that time, except by majority approval.

Sec. 15. The privileges of the floor may be granted to members of any labor organization not represented in this body or visiting delegation by consent of the majority of the delegates present.

Sec. 16. Meetings of the Council shall be held in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order except as may otherwise be provided.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Sec. 17.

1. Roll call of Delegates.
2. Roll call of Officers.
3. Report of Credentials Committee and Seating of New Delegates.
4. Reading of Minutes.
5. Communications.
6. Executive Committee Report.
7. Reports of Officers and Committees.
8. Unfinished Business.
9. New Business.
10. Reports of Delegates.
11. Discussion of Labor and All of Its Interests.
12. Adjournment.

LETTER INTERPRETING RULE ON ROLL CALL VOTES

To All Industrial Union Councils

Re: Application of Rule 6 of the CIO Rules
for Councils governing roll calls.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The Executive Board of the National CIO, meeting at the time of the CIO convention in Atlantic City in November 1946, adopted a number of amendments to the CIO rules for Industrial Union Councils.

Since the CIO convention, considerable experience has been gained by this office in the application and interpretation of these rules. In the present letter I wish to explain to the councils the proper application of one particular rule, namely Rule 6, governing roll calls, in light of the purposes for which it was adopted and the experience which has been gained in its application.

Rule 6 as it previously existed was amended by adding a number of paragraphs providing in effect for a roll call vote on demand of 20 percent of the votes at any meeting or convention. The full text of the rule as it stood previously and the additional paragraphs added as an amendment are enclosed herewith. Several important points about this rule, as amended, which should be borne in mind by all councils, are the following:

Automatic Application. The new rules amend your council constitution automatically. Certificates of affiliation are is-

sued to councils subject to the CIO constitution and rules. It is desirable to amend your constitution on the first suitable occasion and to incorporate the principles of the new rules, but pending such amendment the rules take effect automatically and must be followed, subject to such exceptions as may be granted in proper cases.

Exceptions. The new rule governing roll calls permits my office to approve exceptions to its application where this may prove desirable in the light of special local conditions. I realize that no hard and fast system can be applied satisfactorily everywhere in view of widely divergent local circumstances. On the other hand, for the sake of simplicity and for the purpose of putting into effect the underlying principles involved, exceptions will be granted only where clearly desirable and after full consultation.

Basis of Roll Call. You will note that in the event of a roll call each union is entitled to cast as many votes as it has members and the votes are divided equally among the representatives present. This procedure makes it necessary to have a method for computing the voting strength of each local. The rule provides that computations are to be based on the three-month period prior to the month in which the roll call vote is taken. In some cases in the past, councils have based such computations on a 12-month period. The rule now automatically requires a three-month period.

Period of Grace. In most cases it will prove a practical impossibility to compute membership for the three months just prior to the roll call. It will be permissible to allow a reasonable period of grace for the payment of per capita tax by locals to the councils and for the computation of voting strength.

Per capita taxes for any given month, for example, October, ordinarily become due and payable as of the first of the following month, November. In practice they are usually not paid until the middle or end of November. The reason for this is that the locals collect their dues for October during October, and thereafter a certain amount of time is required to transmit per capita. Thus, if a roll call takes place in December, the last month for which the council would be likely to have satisfactory figures on per capita tax payments would be October.

In such a case, a one-month period of grace should be adopted covering payments for November, and the three-month computation period would include August, September, and October. It may well be that in many cases a two-month period of grace will be required, if the per capita tax payments as shown on the council books are to be truly representative, so that the months to be used would be July, August, and September. It is suggested that each council work out this problem for itself in a manner satisfactory to all concerned, subject

to review by this office in the event of disagreement.

Per Capita Payments. As a practical matter it will be necessary to consider per capita tax payments as shown by the council books as the first proof of the number of members of any affiliated union. Formal exonerations of any local are also to be considered in calculating membership. On the other hand, all local unions are expected to pay per capita tax or receive exoneration on the actual number of their members for the month of payment.

An amendment to Rule 5, adopted at the same time as the amendment to Rule 6, adds a paragraph to the previous Rule 5, providing that locals shall pay per capita tax to councils on the same number of members on which they pay tax to their internationals, or in the case of local industrial unions, to the CIO. As yet our experience with this amendment has not been extensive and you will be advised as to its application more fully in the future.

Scope of Roll Call Provision. The purpose of the new Rule 6 is to assure direction of the work of our councils at all times by representatives of the majority as indicated by the per capita payments and exonerations. In view of this purpose it is clear that the roll call provision refers to issues arising on the floor, to the election of officers, and to the proceedings of Executive Boards.

Rule 6. Rule 6 supersedes your council constitution in these

respects just as in all others. Thus, even though a council constitution may have provided for the election of officers by secret ballot on the basis of one vote for each delegate, elections are now to be held by roll call based on membership, if demanded by the required number of votes.

There are one or two necessary limitations on the application of the roll call provision. The provision assumes that board members, as well as delegates, represent particular constituencies with a definite number of members. This is not the case where board members are selected at large, and in such cases the rule cannot apply automatically. Amendment of the constitution will be necessary and will have to be made in light of local conditions. An exception to the rule should be considered as applying in such cases, and changes in the constitution should be made only after consultation with and approval by me.

It should also be pointed out that in respect to issues on the floor, election of officers, or decisions of Executive Boards, the roll call provision applies only on demand of 20 percent of the voting strength. More precisely, in the case of state councils, the demand is made by delegates representing 20 percent or more of the total number of votes at the meeting or convention. This must be assumed to mean 20 percent of the total number of delegates present at the particular meeting or session of the convention, because any

other interpretation would require a roll call in order to determine whether a roll call should be held. In the case of local industrial union councils, the rule specifically states that demand is by 20 percent of the delegates present at the meeting.

In any roll call the voting strength of any particular union is divided among its representatives. This means that in conventions and meetings of councils, including elections, delegates from any particular local divide the voting strength of that local among them. For convention purposes the number of delegates present from any local must be considered to be the number of delegates from that local qualified to vote in the convention, because a new voting list cannot be computed for each session. On the other hand, for the meetings of local industrial unions and Executive Boards such computation is possible; the vote of any local in a local council meeting should be divided in such cases among its delegates present; the vote on all Executive Boards should be divided among the representatives on the Board acting for any particular international or group of internationals and present at the board meeting.

In a fundamental change in procedure such as the new Rules put into effect in many cases, difficulties are bound to arise. I am ready to help in all such situations. Councils should not hesitate to call upon me if they need advice or further information.

Fraternally yours,
JOHN BROPHY, Director,
Industrial Union Council

AN ACT TO PROVIDE THAT LABOR UNIONS SHALL FILE CERTAIN
STATEMENTS AND REPORTS WITH THE COMMISSIONER OF
LABOR AND INDUSTRIES

Be it enacted by the People, and by their authority as follows:

Sec. 1. No person or association of persons shall operate or maintain a labor union unless and until there has been filed with the commissioner of labor and industries a statement in writing signed by the president and secretary of such labor union, setting forth the names and addresses of all of the officers of such union, the aims and objects of said union, the scale of dues, initiation fees, fines and assessments to be charged to the members, and the salaries to be paid to the officers.

Sec. 2. The president and secretary of such labor unions shall thereafter make an annual report to the commissioner of labor and industries in such form as he may prescribe, and signed by the president and secretary of such labor union, setting forth the amount of money collected for initiation fees, dues, fines and assessments, and setting forth the amount paid in salaries to officers, listing their names and addresses, and the amount paid to each of such officers, and setting forth all other expenditures, listing the name and address and the amount paid to each person.

Sec. 3. The commissioner shall have the power to require by summons the attendance and testimony of witnesses, the pro-

duction of books, papers and documents and to administer oaths.

Sec. 4. The commissioner of labor and industries shall keep a record of all statements and reports submitted to him under the provisions of this chapter, all of which shall be open to public inspection. He shall report to the attorney-general instances of neglect or omission on the part of any person or association of persons to comply with the provisions of this chapter for the enforcement of the penalties therefor.

Sec. 5. Whoever violates either section one or section two, or whoever knowingly makes or files a statement or report under section one or section two, which statement or report is false in any material representation, shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.

Office of the Secretary,
Boston, November 27, 1946.

F. W. Cook,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

MEMBERSHIP CHART OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE
CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL
(Figures as of March 1949)

NAME OF UNION	DATE OF AFFILIATION
1. Amalgamated Clothing Workers Joint Board of Boston	January 1941
A. Local 187a	February 1942
B. Local 337	March 1943
C. Local 3372	June 1944
2. American Communication Association	January 1941
3. American Federation of Hosiery Workers	
A. Branch 12	December 1937
B. Branch 105	December 1937
4. American Newspaper Guild	
A. Local 55	December 1937
5. Industrial Union of Marine and Ship- builders Workers of America	
A. Local 5	January 1939
B. Local 37	February 1941
6. International Fur and Leather Workers	
A. Local 46	March 1944
7. Oil Workers International Union	
A. Local 381	December 1937
B. Local 366	March 1938
8. United Paper, Novelty and Toy Workers	
A. Local 588	December 1937
B. Local 60	September 1940
C. Local 61	December 1941
D. Local 63	June 1944
E. Local 114	June 1943
F. Local 115	January 1941
G. Local 222	January 1942
H. Local 579	January 1943
I. Local 581	June 1943
J. Local 585	February 1943
K. Local 587	January 1942
L. Local 589	June 1944
M. Local 886	February 1942
N. Local 988	June 1944

O. Local 889
P. Local 916

April 1945
December 1941

9. Textile Workers Union of America

A. Joint Board of Peabody and Salem
B. Local 24
C. Local 46A and B
D. Local 131
E. Local 289
F. Local 441
G. Local 469
H. Local 470
I. Local 484
J. Local 587
K. Local 591
L. Local 592
M. Local 604 A

January 1941
December 1937
January 1947
December 1937
January 1941
October 1941
January 1944
December 1941
July 1942
July 1943
December 1943
December 1943
March 1946

10. United Automobile Workers

A. Local 209
B. Local 628
C. Local 744

May 1947
November 1945
November 1945

11. United Electrical, Radio and Machine
Workers

A. Local 201
B. Local 205
C. Local 208
D. Local 222
E. Local 224
F. Local 239
G. Local 257
H. Local 257
I. Local 257
J. Local 259
K. Local 261
L. Local 262
M. Local 269
N. Local 271
O. Local 272
P. Local 275
Q. Local 278
R. Local 279
S. Local 284
T. Local 286
U. Local 288
V. Local 289
W. Local 291
X. Local 217

June 1939
June 1939
March 1948
June 1944
October 1946
November 1946
December 1937
December 1937
January 1944
June 1942
March 1943
June 1946
November 1941
December 1941
June 1941
December 1942
October 1942
August 1942
November 1946
March 1943
January 1944
March 1943
June 1944
December 1943

12. United Office and Professional Workers
 - A. Local 46 January 1944
 - B. Local 108 March 1943
 - C. Local 116 February 1947
 - D. Local 206 January 1943
13. Federation of Architects, Engineers,
Chemists and Technicians December 1937
14. United Packinghouse Workers of America
 - A. Local 155 March 1943
15. United Federal Workers of America
 - A. Local 224 March 1943
16. State, County and Municipal Workers,
Greater Boston Workers Union
 - A. Local 676P January 1946
surrendered charter - May 20, 1947
17. United Rubber Workers of America
 - A. Local 155 November 1939
 - B. Local 167 January 1939
 - C. Local 259 May 1944
18. United Shoe Workers
District Council No. 1
 - A. Local 2 January 1940
 - B. Local 3 January 1949
January 45
19. United Steelworkers of America
 - A. Local 1809 January 1943
 - B. Local 2575 January 1943
 - C. Local 2649 March 1943
 - D. Local 2880 March 1943
 - E. Local 3128 April 1944
 - F. 3155 June 1944
 - G. Local 3361 November 1946
 - H. Local 3623 September 1947
 - I. Local 3889 November 1946
 - J. Local 4201 " "
 - K. Local 4225 " "
 - L. Local 4226 " "
20. Amalgamated Association of Iron,
Steel and Tin Workers of North America
 - A. Local 1809 December 1937

21. United Mine Workers of America

A. Local 12001	December 1937
B. Local 12003	December 1937
C. Local 12007	December 1937
D. Local 12008	January 1938
E. Local 017	December 1937
F. Local 12026	December 1937
G. Local 12029	January 1938
H. Local 12118	November 1930
I. Local 12132	January 1941
J. Local 12154	August 1941
K. Local 12173	January 1941
L. Local 12184	April 1941
M. Local 12246	January 1938
	re-affiliate--October 1938
N. Local 12255	January 1943
O. Local 12260	November 1941
P. Local 12282	September 1941

22. Sugar Refinery Workers

January 1938

23. Laundry Workers

A. Local 357

March 1943

24. Local Industrial Union

A. Local 1277

March 1943

25. Roofing Local Industrial Union

A. Local 1383

March 1945

26. United Transport Service Employees

A. Local 705

January 1943

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Conway, James O.		*331.88
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Mass. C.I.O. Union Council		c.1
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